8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 844 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 593 554 851 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 855 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 597 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 597 571 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 829 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

539 593 855 **439. Pelepele pea mele:** Petted and coming to grief.

Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Another native, commenting on sexual breaches, remarked that a man who violated the wife of a great chief would be slain by his own people. There would seem to be little doubt that if any such hardy lover escaped the vengeance of mortals his offence would not pass unnoticed of the unseen powers. In fact an instance of this sort was recently related to Mr. Gifford and myself. A man of considerable rank had gone from the island of Eua to Tongatabu and was living in close and friendly connection with the reigning Tui Tonga. The latter went on a voyage to Haapai shortly after one of his wives (not the chief wife) had given birth to a child, leaving the mother and babe to the care of the Euan whose relations with his fair charge soon became too fond and intimate. As a consequence of his wife's frailty the Tui Tonga found on his return that the child had fallen ill. The secret of the guilty pair had, however, not yet been divulged, and recourse was had to the lot, by spinning a coconut, to discover the person whose wrong-doing was responsible for the royal infant's alarming condition. The lot fell between the Tui Tonga himself and his unfaithful spouse. The next spin brought the guilt right home to the woman who confessed her sin. The story ends in a manner to satisfy the most susceptible reader of love romances. Not only did the Tui Tonga forgive the lady, but he bestowed both her and the infant on the successful lover, and all three removed to Eua where the child became the progenitor of a line of chiefs. It was apparently no uncommon thing for a village to choose a handsome girl to take to a high chief that she might bring back to them a chiefly child. Such a child was called by a word indicating that he was not so much the possession of an individual mother as of the whole village or family group.

The consequences attendant on illicit love affairs are often illustrated today. Not infrequently a man and woman who do not desire to marry, or are unable to because of some previous union, take an oath of mutual fidelity on the Bible. Various circumstances may make them desire to be rid of this bond. Perhaps if the woman is married one of her legitimate children falls ill. One of the parties themselves, or one or other of their relatives, may become sick, or die. Although no entanglements of this sort may be impeding the course

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle. *Kava* ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary observer noted:

> Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides "a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava* session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported:

> Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoï-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS:1a).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.[4]

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV (then the Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he received the title of Tupouto'a:

> The Kava ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

592 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining house-
597 hold with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9).

597 The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected
597 with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step
885 in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by
[581] taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts
[602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the grouwth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establish-
597 ing a separate household. Although recognition as an adult does not
885 come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its
851 care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

[See p. 62--Analyst]

/83 cont./

853 177 with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

853 178 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get [744] enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

846 The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light [262] food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or [177] boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

854 177 Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby 856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

851 In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-

G 291 177 178 171

/317 cont./
fabrics in their traditional manner as a cloak or in the shape of an Arabian kanzu, (48)

48. Underneath this, perhaps a European shirt and shorts as well, the chiefs more often with long pants under the kanzu and a European jacket over it.

while the women who do not wear bark cloth have extended their old garment up to their shoulders and given it straps and short sleeves. In this way a sort of national costume has been created, comparable to the so popular vala in Tonga.

T G 595 178

In the social realm it is worth noting that polygamy among the Baganda, in contrast to conditions in the Tonga Archipelago, has not been entirely given up in its old form, though it has very much decreased and its years seem numbered. The Christian moral code, as on the South Sea Islands, is by no means strictly followed, and illegitimate children are likewise taken into the community without particular discrimination. The Baganda have also proved conservative to the extent that they cling, in their fashion, to their old classificatory kinship terms, like the Tongans. With regard to stages of life (marriage, birth, death) much that is old has been preserved and partly linked with new customs. Thus the traditional bride price among this people still plays a very important role, and to legalize a marriage this is more important, even for the most devout, than the church wedding. The customs surrounding the transfer of the bride to her husband have, however, been changed to a certain extent in keeping with the European-Christian conception.--Little seems to have changed in the customs associated with birth and the treatment of the newborn child. Yet here too, as in Tonga, practically every child receives the Christian baptism; the old customs of name-giving, which were once important among the Baganda, are being more and more ignored.-With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,

T G 577 177 848

T G 601 178

G 178 583 585 177

G [844]

T G 851 563 000